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## HISTORY

OF

## The Persecution

OF THE

# VALLEYS

OF

### PIEDMONT.

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An Account of what hath passed in the Dissipation of the Churches and the Inhabitants of the Valleys, which happened in the Year 1686.

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### Valleys of PIEDMONT.

T is not my design at present to make a large and particular Relation of all that hath happened on account of this sad and lamentable Dissipation, since I hope to treat of it more amply hereaster. Nevertheless, I shall observe all that is necessary to make it appear that there never was a Persecution more cruel nor more unjust, than that which hath been put in execution this last time against the Churches and the Inhabitants of the Valleys of Piedmone; that their Religion hath been the only cause of this Persecution, and that those who have escaped from it do well deserve the compassion and charity of all good Christians.

The Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont, or of the Waldenses, as they are commonly called, were the most ancient of all those that derive their Original from the Apostles, whose Doctrine they have always followed and taught. They stood in no need of a Reformation, by reason that they never were partakers of those gross Errors and Idolatries with which the Church of Rome and Popery have infected Christendom. The purity of their manners hath corresponded so well with their Doctrine, that their very Enemies have not stuck to avouch, That their moderation, and the exemplariness of their Lives, have contributions

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ted much to the establishment of their Religion. They have not been content only not to enter into an idolatrous and superstitious Communion, but they have always openly declared and protested against those Abuses and against the Papal Tyranny; insomuch, that neither Luther nor Calvin, nor any other of our Resormers, have pleaded more strongly or more boldly in consutation of the Heresies of the Roman Church: as also the aforesaid great Men have given their approbation of the Doctrine of the Churches of the Waldenses, as Orthodox and

Apostolical.

It is not at all to be wonder'd at then, that these Churches have always been the object of the hatred and rage of the Papills; that Popes have caused Croisades to be published, and engaged a part of Europe against them; that divers famous Inquisitors have at several times made use of all that cruelty and subtilty that rage and malice could invent for the extermination of the Waldenses; and that particularly the Council de propaganda fide & extirpandis Hareticis hath left no stone unturn'd to effect their utter destruction: But we cannot sufficiently admire that special and peculiar Providence with which it hath pleased Almighty God always to protect the Churches and the Inhabitants of the Valleys of Piedmont, fince notwithstanding so many violent Persecutions, notwithstanding the perfidious Treasons with which their Enemies have always repaid their Fidelity, notwithstanding seven or eight and twenty Wars, which their Religion hath drawn upon them, and notwithstanding the Massacres which have so often as a torrent overflowed the Valleys with the blood of the Waldenser, this great God hath preserved them by continual Miracles of his Providence. It

All Historians, even they of the contrary party, are agreed, That these Churches have continued in an immemorial possession of the exercise of their Religion, before they sell under the Dominion of the Dukes or Counts of Savoy, which came not to pass till the Year 1233, when Thomas Count of Savoy made himself Master of the City of Pignerol and of the Valleys of Fiedmont, under pretence that the Race of the Princes of Piedmont was extinct. It is also certain that the Waldenses never submitted to the Counts of Savoy (from whom his Royal Highness is descended) but on condition that they should be maintained in their Privileges. In fine, it is upon this Foundation that the said Counts being become Princes of Piedmont, have defended and confirmed the Waldensian Churches in the exercise of their Religion, and in their other Rights and Privileges. They have granted unto them upon this account, from time to time, several authentick Concessions, particu-

particularly in the years 1561, 1602, and 1603; which being enacted and enroll'd in the Senate and in the Chamber of the Accompts of Turin, in the year 1620, on confideration of a great sum of money which the Waldenses paid thereupon, as appears by the Act of Enrollment, these Concessions thus passed in form of an irrevocable Transaction and of a perpetual and inviolable Law, the execution whereof was ordained by several solemn Decrees of the Dukes of Savoy in the

years 1638, 1649, 1654, and 1655. The Council de propaganda fide, which is obliged by its Establishment, by its Title, and by its Oath, to procure the ruine of those whom it brands with the Name of Hereticks, observing with great regret the peaceable and quiet State which the Waldenses enjoyed under the protection of these Laws, put every thing in execution that might tend to the disturbance thereof. To this end it was that this Council which was then composed partly of the Principal Ministers of State of the Court of Turin, taking advantage of the minority of Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, caused to be published in the month of Fanuary 1655, an Order which obliged all the Inhabitants of the Valleys to quit the Plain within three days, and to retire into the Mountains, upon pain of death, in case they did not make proof that they were turned Catholicks. The Waldenses obey'd this Order, as unjust and cruel as it was. But this their obedience that took away all pretence from their Enemies, could not secure them from that horrible Masfacre in the year 1655, of which all Europe hath been informed and aftonished at, and of which Posterity will speak as of an Action the most inhumane, the most perfidious, and the most infamous that ever was committed in the World. This Massacre seem'd in all appearance irrecoverably to have defroyed the Waldenses; but there were many, who having escaped the fury of these Butchers, resolved to defend their Lives to the last gasp. They executed this their Resolution with that brave force and undaunted Courage, that they had defeated in feveral Rencounters a confiderable party of their Enemies, when all the Protestant Princes and Estates interessed themselves in behalf of the Waldenses. These generous Protectors having been informed of this dreadful Massacre, were not content only to open to them the bowels of their Charity and Benevolence, but they continually follicited the Duke of Savey by their Intercessions. The reform'd Cantons of Suitzerland among the rest, sent on this account four Ambassadors to the Court of Turin. These Ambassadors joining themselves to that of France, who had already made himself Mediator or Arbitrator in this Affair.

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in the name of his Master, laboured together to procure a Peace, and obtained for the Churches and Inhabitants of the Valleys, a Confirmation of their Privileges definitively and irrevocably, by a solemn Patent which the Duke of Savoy gave the 9th of August 1655, enrolled in due form in the Senate, and in the Chamber of Accompts of Turin.

One would think that after a Patent of this nature, that carries the title and character of a perpetual and inviolable Law, granted in the presence and at the mediation of the Ambassadors of France and Suitzerland, and of which the King of France was declared Garantee, as shall be made appear hereafter; one would think, I say, that the Waldenses might have enjoyed the fruits of a Peace which they had purchased with the blood of more than fix thousand of their Brethren; but all this was not capable to cover them from the Infults of their The Council of Propagation violated this Patent in its most effential points, and perfecuted the Waldenses by divers unjust and violent means. But fince they oppos'd their Persecutions only with complaints, their Enemies took their patience for floth; and believing that they could oppress them without resistance, they employed again once more Fire and Sword, and renewed in 1663, the mischiefs and the violences that they had caused in 1655. The Waldenses knowing by experience that to fland in their own defence was the only way to save themselves, were constrained to take up Arms; and defended themselves so well, that they had re-established their Assairs about the end of the year 1663. It was at this time that the reformed Cantons sent again Ambassadors to the Court of Turin, to render them. selves Mediators of the Peace: these Ambassadors being joined as the former to that of France who resided with the Duke of Savoy, they procured again for the Waldenses a solemn, perpetual, and irrevocable Patent in the month of February 1664, confirming the precedent, and enrolled likewise in the Senate, and in the Chamber of Accompts:

But this Patent was not executed with better faith than the former, though the Duke had engaged with the Reformed Cantons in a Letter bearing date the 28th of February 1664, to cause it to be punctually observed. It would not be easie to represent the Artifices which the Council of the Propagation made use of to render this Patent usels to the Waldenses: It may suffice to say, that it were impossible for them to defend themselves against so much subtilty, and so much malice, if God, who holds the hearts of Kings and Princes in his hands, had not changed in their sayour that of Charles Emanuel Duke of

Savoy. This Prince on the other side, examined the conduct of the Waldenses; knew that it was without reason, that they had rendered them odious to him, and calling to mind the Zeal which they had shewn for his service on several occasions, particularly in the years 1638. and 1640. when they so vigorously opposed his Enemies, whilst the greatest part of his Estates had revolted against him, he resolved for the suture to treat them as Subjects, who well deserved his love and protection.

The War which he had with the Genoeses in the year 1672. mightily confirmed him in the favourable opinion he had conceived of the Waldenses. They served him in this War with so much Zaland Courage, that this Prince not satisfied witch commending their Valor and Fidelity in a Letter which he wrote to them for this purpose, gave them continually affured marks of his protection and good will towards them ever to his Death. The Duchess, his Widow, after his example, treated them not only with abundance of gentleness and goodness, but likewise engaged with the Resormed Cantons in a Letter dated the 28th. of January 1679. to maintain the Waldenses in the exercise of their Religion, and in their other Privileges.

I have touched but lightly on these matters, lest I should go beyondthe due limits I have set my self, but I thought it not convenient to suppress them. For besides that, they serve for to shew that the Rights and Privileges of the Waldenses were eshablished on immovable foundations, and to shew that their Enemies have alwaies violated the most solemn and the most authentick Engagements, and have exercised nothing but Cruelty, Injustice, and Persidiousness towards them; they serve also to justisse the conduct which the Waldenses have at

last taken, which is properly the subject of this Relation.

The Waldenses flattered themselves, that under the Government of the Duke of Savoy that now reigns, they might enjoy some Tranquillity. They had rendered him very considerable Services in the year 1684. in the War of the Banditi of Mondovi. This Prince hath given them authentick assurances of his satisfaction and good will, in a Letter that he caused to be written to them on this occasion, and the beginning of his Reign seemed to promise for the suture, that in rendering unto Casar that which is Casar's, they should have the liberty to render to God that which is God's. They were disappointed of that hope, when the Governour of the Valleys of Piedmons caused to be published, about the end of the year 1685. an Order which to the bad all Foreiners to go and inhabit these Valleys, and to remain

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there above three daies without his permission, and the Inhabitants to lodge or entertain them, under severe Penalties. The Waldenses had already heard of the Violencies which were used in France, to compel people to change their Religion: They had also heard that the King of France had made void the Edicts of Nantes, and they judged well that the prohibition that was given them not to surther the retreat of their Brethren, might be of dangerous consequence to them. But they foresaw not the mischiess that happened to them, whether it were by reason that men naturally love to flatter themselves, or because their Enemies took all the care they possibly could to deceive them, and to drive from them all thoughts that sear might inspire

them withal, to the end that they might take no precaution.

They were in this condition when the Order of his Royal Highnels, dated the 31st. of Fanuary 1686. was published in the Valleys, which prohibits the exercise of their Religion in general, upon pain of Death, the confiscation of their Goods, condemneth all the Churches to be demoiished, and all the Ministers to banishment, ordaineth that the Children that shall be born, shall be baptized and educated in the Romish Religion, under penalty that their Fathers shall be sent to the Galleys, and contains almost the same things with the Declaration of the King of France, that annuls the Edict of Nantes. It is impossible to express the fears and grief with which the Waldenses were seized at the fight of an Order so surprizing, so unjust and so rigorous, as also so much more terrible than the preceding, that had produced such tragical effects. For the former tended only to lock them up within streighter bounds, and to take from them the right of inhabiting the Plain which they had enjoyed time out of mind: But the Order of the 31st. of Fanuary, deprives them intirely of the exercise of their Religion, and of the Liberty of Conscience. They saw themselves at one stroak precipitated into a dreadful abyss of misfortunes without perceiving any means of recovery, and they found themselves exposed either to see the light of the Gospel extinguished in the Valleys, that had shone so bright there for so many Ages, or to fee those cruel Massacres renewed, that had sacrificed so many of their Brethren: Neverthelels, fince they were perswaded that this Order was got by surprize, and that their Enemies had imposed on the equity of their Prince, they had recourse to complaints and supplications, according to their usual custom, and presented four Petitions to the Duke of Savor, to implore the revocation of this Order. But fince they could obtain nothing but some adjournment to prepare themfelves

felves for its execution, they saw that their missortune was without remedy; they were yet more certain of it when they understood that the King of France, who for reasons of State and Polity had hitherto protected them, and who was also declared Garantee of the Patents aforesaid, had not only obliged the Duke to put forth this Order, but further, that his Majesty had caused his Troops to advance into Piedmont for the execution of it. Then it was that the Waldenser seeing themselves insulted over by the Papists of their neighbourhood, took some Precautions to defend themselves, and to preserve their Lives from the danger that threatned them.

In the mean time the Reformed Cantons having been informed of this order, and of the measures that they had taken for the execution of it, thought that they ought not to abandon a People perfecuted for their Religion, and that they ought to appear on this occasion as they had before appeared on others of the like nature. They were resolved then, in an Assembly held at Baden, in the month of February 1686, to fend again Ambassadors to the Duke of Savoy to intercede for the Waldenses. These Ambassadors arrived at Turin in the beginning of March, and made their Propositionstending to the revocation of the Order of the 31th of January. They made it appear that the Reformed Cantons were interessed in this Affair, not only as Brethren of the Waldenses in the Communion of one and the same Faith. but also by reason that the Patents of 1655 and 1663, which that Order destroyed, were the fruits of their Mediation, and they back'd their demands with many cogent and folid Confiderations. The Court of Turin disputed not these Reasons, and contented it self to cause it to be told the Ambassadors, That the Engagements wherein the Duke of Savoy had entred with the King of France, opposed the Success of their Negotiation. This obliged the Ambassadors to represent in a Memorial which they gave for that purpole, that the Predecessors of his Royal Highness having engaged their royal word to several Sovereigns, and particularly to the Reformed Cantons, for the execution of the Patents granted to the Waldenses, he could not renounce Engagements fo formal and so authentick, whether because these Patents are not simple Tolerations, but perpetual Concessions, and inviolable Laws, or because these Patents were granted at the intercession of several Sovereigns, and according to the Law of Nations they are everlasting Monuments of the publick Faith; or lastly, because the words' of Sovereigns ought to be facred and inviolable. They alledged also many reasons of Polity that ought to oblige the Duke of Savoy to

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maintain the Waldenses in their Privileges; and the rules of Justice and Clemency did not permit him to carry Fire and Sword, Blood and Slaughter into his own Dominions, nor to destroy a People that implored his grace and mercy, and who had done nothing to draw upon themselves this severe Order which was the cause of their despair. But neither the Reasons of the Ambassadors, nor their pressing Sollicitations, nor the Letters of Intercession that many Protestant Princes wrote besides on behalf of the Waldenses, produced any effect, but served only to contirm the Ambassadors in the assurance of the Engagements wherein the Duke of Savoy had entred with the King of

France, for the extirpation of the Religion in the Valleys.

The Waldenses in the mean time were ignorant of that which passed at Turin: they had not heard of the departure of the Ambassadors, for they had taken and flopt two men on their Passage who went to carry the News into the Valleys. It is true that they had heard at length by a common report, That these Ambassadors were at Turin to demand a Revocation of the Order of the 31th of Fanuary; but they knew nothing certain of the success of their Negotiation. They could not go so much as to inform themselves; for besides that none of them durst go to Turin since the adjournment that was granted them from the execution of the Order was expired, the Court had moreover refufed a safe conduct that the Ambassadors had demanded of them, that the Deputies of the Valleys might come and defend their Rights, as hath been practifed in the preceding Negotiations: but however things went, in expecting the event of this, the Waldenses had fortified themselves in their own Country with certain Entrenchments, and stood upon their guard to hinder the entry of the Troops, the most part of which were already encamped at the foot of the Valleys.

The Duke of Savoy returned an Answer to the proposition of the Ambassadors by the Marquess of St. Thomas, one of his Ministers of State, who hath the management of foreign Affairs, and who swore to them that the Duke could not revoke his Order, by reason he was not the Master of it. He protested to them also, on the part of his Royal Highness, that provided the Order were executed, he would not result to enter into some Expedients. He gave them also to understand, that upon their account he would not result to give the Waldenses permission to depart out of his Dominions, and to dispose of their Goods. The Ambassadors were persuaded, that the Waldenses, having neither a Commander nor regular Troops, could not sustain a War against the King of France, and the Duke of Savoy, who were uni-

ted for their Destruction. They thought therefore, that to avoid the storm with which the People were threatned, the best way would be to procure a Retreat for them, with the disposition of their Goods. But because before they entred into this Negotiation, it was necessary for them to consult the Opinion of the Valleys, the Ambassadors took measures with the Court of Turin to make a Journey thither; and the Duke of Savoy also gave them a Letter to this effect for the Governor of the Valleys. The Ambassadors arrived there the 22th of March, and caused the Communities to be assembled by their Deputies the next day, to whom they declared what they had done. They told them, that the condition of the Waldenses being such, that they were destitute of all hopes of relief, they had no more to do but to consider of a Retreat, in case they could obtain it with scave to sell their Goods; and that if they would embrace this Proposition, they would relate this their disposition to it as coming from them. The Deputies of the Commons being much surprized to understand, that they might not expect any fuccor in an occasion wherein they thought that all the Reformed part of Europe ought to be concerned, told the Ambassadors that they were persuaded that they could not do better than to follow their advice, but that to take deliberation in an Affair of fo great importance, it was necessary to call a General Assembly.

The Orders being given for this, the Ambassadors returned to Turin, they informed the Marquels of St. Thomas of the Success of their Journey, who affured them that this Negotiation was very agreeable to the Court. They demanded, at length, a safe Conduct, that some of the Inhabitants of the Valleys might have liberty to come, and bring the Deliberations that should be taken in this Assembly: but it was refused upon these two Pretences; one was, That the Duke of Savoy would not permit that any Waldenses should appear at the Court; the other was, That he defigned to do nothing in this Affair but only for the take of the Ambassadors. They were torced then to send the Secretary of the Embassy into the Valleys to setch these Deliberations. This Secretary found the Communities affembled at Angrogne the 28th of March, very much unresolved what course to take; for on one side they saw the lamentable consequences of War, on the other side the dangers, and the almost unsurmountable difficulties in the execution of their Retreat; besides, although they might depart without danger, they could not behold, but with extreme tegret, the hard necessity of being forced to abandon their Goods and their Native Country to go into a foreign Land to lead a miserable, disconsolate, and a vagabond

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fort of a life. At last they took a Resolution to send a Memorial to the Ambassadors, concerning the dangers and difficulties that obstructed their Departure, and to write a Letter to them figned by nine Ministers and eight Lay men, in which, after having entreated them to reflect on these Obstacles, they should declare, That they would refer the whole to their Prudence and Conduct. Upon this Letter the Ambassadors made it their business to obtain a permission for the Waldenses to retire out of the Estates of Piedmont, and to make sale of their Goods; but the Duke of Savoy, to whom this Proposition was referred, gave it out, That before he would return any Answer thereto, he expected that the Communities of the Valleys should send Deputies to him, with full power to make those Submissions that were due to him, and to beg leave to depart out of his Territories, as a peculiar favour that they should implore of their Prince. The Ambassadors had reason to be surprized at these Preambles. They had denied them the safe Conducts that they had demanded for the coming of the Deputies of the Valleys to Turin. They had affured them several times, that if they should grant to the Waldenses leave to retreat, it was only upon the account, and at the intercession of the Ambassadors: nevertheless, they would by no means have it said that the Ambassadors desired a permission for them to depart, on their own behalf; but on the contrary, that it was the Waldenses themselves that made this Request. This alteration was not made without cause, and it was not for nothing that they took measures altogether different from their former. The Council of the Propagation who managed this Affair, had without doubt respect to these two several regards; one was. That they would not have the Ambassadors named in the permission of departure, to the end that they should have the less right to demand the execution of those things that should be promised to the Waldenses; the other, That the Waldenses themselves defiring this Permission as a favour, they might be at liberty to impose on them what conditions they pleased; and lastly, That the Waldenses making those Submissions that the Duke required of them, must needs be in the state of Supplicants, and would by consequence be forced to lay down their Arms; otherwise they could not be in the condition of Petitioners. But however it were, the Ambassadors being willing to take away all pretences from the Enemies of the Waldenses, took a safe Conduct to bring the Deputies whom they had demanded: they fent this fale Conduct into the Valleys by the Secretary of the Embassy, who caused the Communities to be affembled to nominate their Deputies. But But as on the one hand, there were many who were never engaged in the defign of departing; and that on the other, the new Marches of their Enemies appeared suspicious, the Communities were not all of one mind, nor the Orders they gave to their respective Deputies conformable one with another. For the tenor of some, was to beg leave to depart and to sell their Goods; and others required the maintenance of the exercise of their Religion and their other Rights. These Deputies being a frived at Turin, the Ambassadors thought it not convenient for them to appear at Court thus divided; but sent them back into the Valleys to endeavour a Union between themselves, and labour'd in the mean time to obtain a Truce for them.

Their Enemies heard with a great deal of satisfaction, that the Communities were divided amongst themselves upon the point of departing; they were so well persuaded that this division would be an infallible means to destroy them, that they caused it to be carried on and fomented ever fince, in those parts, by perfidious persons whom they had gained for that purpose. It is also to be presumed, that they never had proposed the expedient of departing, but with a prospect that it might be the occasion of the disunion of the Waldenser. To make advantage then of the variable dispositions of the Communities, their Enemies changed their minds once more: They had lately declared, That they expected, in the first place, that the Waldenses should themselves defire a permission to depart, and should make their Submissions thereupon. The Waldenses had not made this Request nor these Submissions: several of the Communities were not of the opinion to retire: the Ambassadors did not sollicit any longer a permission to depart, but a Truce, as appears by a Letter that they wrote to the Marquels of S. Thomas, the 8th of April, 1686. In the mean time, notwithstanding all this, to accomplish absolutely the division of the Waldenses, and consequently to ruine them with the greater ease, they published forthwith, and unknown to the Ambassadors, an Edict dated the oth of the same Month of April, granting to the Waldenses an Amnesty, and a permission to retire out of the Estates of Piedmont. For the better judging of the design of the Council of the Propagation, I have inserted a Copy of this Edict, translated from the Italian.

Divine Providence, in establishing Sovereigns above the People, hath granted unto the first the distribution of Rewards and Punishments, to the end that the hopes of the one may invite the good, and that the fear of the other may restrain the wicked. The last of these

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ought to fall from our revenging hand on our Subjects of the Valleys of Lucerne, who make profession of the Protestant Religion, since it is notorious, that they have not only opposed, with great obstinacy, our Order of the 31st of January last, but they have also hardened themselves in their crime, and have fallen into the excesses of an enormous and consummated Rebellion: nevertheless, our natural Clemency surpassing their Crimes, and not suffering us to be content with that paternal forbearance, with which we have so long time in vain waited for their Repentance; it is our good pleasure again to leave it to their will, that hath hitherto followed evil counsel, the choice of a happy or a miserable condition, and to open to them this last time the gate of our Grace, to the end that they may make their best advantage thereof in manner sollowing; which if they do not accept by a ready obedience, they cannot but impute to their rashness the chattisements which they shall deserve, and which they shall receive from our exasperated patience.

Wherefore, in the first place, for the confirmation of our Order of the 31st of January last, in regard that it shall not be contrary to this, we have by vertue of these Presents, of our certain knowledge, sull power and absolute authority, by the Advice of our Council, ordained, That all our Subjects of the Valleys of Lucerne making profession of the Protestant and Resonmed Religion, shall lay down their Arms, and retire into their Houses within the time herein afterwards prescribed.

We command them also to make no Associations nor Assemblies in any manner whatsoever, to the end that following our direction, the Judges of those places may have free access, and that the Fathers Missionaries, and other religious Orders, may return into the Churches from whence they have been forced to depart, and that the Catholicks, and those that have turn'd Catholicks, may possess the houses that they have abandoned.

And forasimuch as it is not reasonable that the Religious Missionaries, Catholicks and made Catholicks, should suffer by so many damages that they have received from the Protestant Religion; we will, require, and ordain, that the necessary sums to indemnific them, shall be levied without distinction, and generally upon the Goods of the said Professor of the Protestant Religion, so far as shall be justified and summarily made appear before the Chevalier Monroux, Intendant of Justice in the Valleys; declaring nevertheless, that in proving by the said Religious that the damages they sustained were caused by private Persons, they shall have their Redress and Satisfaction from the said private persons.

And to demonstrate to our said Subjects how great our Clemency is towards them, we give permission to those that shall think fit to go out

of our Estates, to do it within the term and upon the conditions here-

after prescribed.

But by reason that their ill disposition is but too manisest by their past carriage and conduct, and that several may cloak their wicked designs, under a salse pretence of obedience, we do reserve, besides those that shall go out of our Estates of their own accord, to order such others as we shall think fit, and as we shall find it most expedient to ascertain the repose of those who shall remain, unto whom we shall prescribe such rules as they shall observe for the suture.

And for an augmentation of our Favours, we grant as well to those who shall retire voluntarily, as to those who shall depart by our orders, power to carry away with them what moveables and Effects they please, and to sell their Goods and Effects that they shall leave behind; nevertheless after the manner hereafter prescribed.

The same shall be understood of Foreigners and those descended from Foreigners, who shall conform themselves to the last Atticle but one of the Order of the 31st of January above-mentioned.

The abovesaid sale of Goods shall be made to Catholicks and those that are converted Catholicks: But because it may happen that there may not be found Buyers enough within the term hereaster mentioned, and since we are not willing that the Religious, who shall go out of our Estates, should be deprived of the benefit of our present concession, it shall be lawful for them to agree with sour or six persons to whom they shall give their Commissions, and who shall remain, by our permission, in Lucerne, with all freedom, during three months, to treat and negotiate with any, and to sell the Goods of those that are retired, to whom it shall be permitted to prescribe in their Commissions the precautions with which they would have their Goods sold for their greater security, and to receive the price of them where they have a mind to have it sent them, without fraud or malversation of the appointed Commissioners, over whom the Chevalier and Intendant Monroux shall have the charge to inspect.

They who have a mind to retire, shall be obliged to appear respectively on the days and places hereaster specified, to be ready to depart without Fire-arms by the way that shall be marked out for them, either by Savoy, or by the Valley of Angle: To this essential Pasport and a free safe Conduct shall be given them on our part, to the end that they may not receive any evil treatment or hindrance in our Estates; but on the contrary, that they may receive all aid and assistance; and because, that being in great numbers, they may be exposed to some inconveniencies in the roads and in the places through which they must pass, being overloaded, they shall be formed into three Brigades, after this manner. The first that shall be composed of those of the Valley of Lucerne, shall rendezvous at the Tower, to depart immediately the day after the term hereafter appointed, viz. the 21st. of the month of April. The second Brigade composed of these of the Valley of Angrogne, S. Bartbolomew, Rocheplate, and Prurustin, shall rendezvous at S. Second, and shall depart the day following, viz. the 22d. of this month. And the third and last Brigade formed of those of the Valley of S. Martin, and about Peronse, shall rendezvous at Miradol, and shall depart the third day,

viz. the 23d. of this month.

The term limited wherein our faid Subjects of the Protestant Religion inhabiting the Valleys of Lucerne, shall be obliged to lay down their Arms, after the manner expressed in the first Article of this prefent Order, is eight days after that it shall be published in the place of Lucerne, during which they must obey the Contents of the same Order, to enjoy the fruits of our Clemency, the motions of which we follow as well as those of a paternal affection, with which we regard our faid Subjects, notwithstanding the heinousness and enormity of their Crimes. And provided all that is above said, be punctually observed, we grant our grace, pardon, remission, abolition, and an ample oblivion to our faid Subjects, of all the excesses, defaults, crimes, and other things that they may have committed fince the publication of our Order of the 31st. of Fanuary last, as well in general as in particular, infomuch that they may never be called to an account under any pretence whatfoever, prohibiting all Judges, Fifcals, and others to whom it may appertain to make any enquiry thereinto. But because if they should render themselves unworthy of such grace, in not observing every point as is above said, within the time prescribed, it would be of too pernicious a consequence to delay any longer the chastisement that they have deserved, after we have been so prodigal of our favours to them, and have waited so long time for their repentance, we will put in execution those means that God hath put into our hands to reduce the obstinate to their duty, and cause them to undergo the punishment of their unheard of rashness.

We deliver it to our Senate, &c. Given at Turin the 9th: of April 1686. Enrolled the 10th.

This Edict was published in the Valleys the 11th. of April, the same day the Ambassadors wrote a Letter to the same effect to some of the Communities to know their resolution. In the mean time they gave a very pressing Memorial to the Marquess of S. Thomas, to have some affurance that the Troops should not enter into the Valleys, and to obtain for the Waldenses certain Conditions more favourable than those of the Edict: But the Court of Turin certified them that there was nothing to be expected for the Waldenses, till they had laid down their Arms, of which the Ambassadors gave advice to the Deputies of the Valley's who had been at Turin, by a Letter dated the 13th. that they wrote to them on that subject. The 14th. the Communities held a general assembly at Rochepeate, wherein after having examined the terms and conditions of the Edict, they were of opinion, that their Enemies thought of nothing less than in reality to permit their departure, which they seemed to grant to them, and that this Edict was nothing but a snare that they had laid to entangle them, and to destroy them with more ease: They resolved then not to accept of it, but to follow the example of their Ancestors, and to refer the event of it to Providence. Infomuch that this Edict which was defigned altogether to divide them, wrought a quite contrary effect, and served to unite them all in the same judgment.

The principal reasons that hindered them from accepting this Edict, were, First, That fince it ordains the entire execution of the Order of the 31st. of Fanuary, that condemns all the Churches to be demolished, they must of necessity demolish all the Churches within eight days, because the Edia declareth expresly, that if all that is contained in it be not executed within the space of eight days, they are deprived of and forfeit those favours that are granted in it. It must follow then, that for the execution of the Edict, either that the Waldenses themselves should demolish their Churches, or that their Enemies should do it. The Waidenses could not resolve to demolish them themselves, they would have fent then Troops, that under the pretence of this demolishing, would have infallibly oppressed the Waldenses. Secondly, If they designed to permit them to retire without disturbance, why did they not defer the execution of the Order of the 31st. of January, till after their departure? Why should they oblige them to demolish their Churches within the eight days that were given them to prepare themselves to abandon for ever their native Country, were it not to render their retreat impossible? Thirdly, This Edict requires further, that they should lay down their Arms, and that they should open their Country to Monks, Missionaries,

and Catholicks. Now it is plain, that if they had thrown away their Arms, and opened their Country before their departure, they would have been exposed to the mercy of their Enemies, and to the fury of Troops who would not have failed to enter into their Country, to oppose the retreat of the Waldenses, and to torment them till such time as they had changed their Religion, as hath been practifed elsewhere: But their fear was so much the more justifiable on this occasion, in regard that they gave them no assurance that their Troops should not enter into the Valleys. Fourthly, The Waldenses are also obliged to retire in three separate Brigades, and to rendezvouz in those places, where the Troops being encamped, they must consequently surrender themselves to the discretion of the Soldiers, and deliver themselves up to be butchered. Fifthly, The permission that the same Edict gives to the Waldenses to sell their Good; was altogether useless to them. For befides that the fale could not be made till after their departure, to Catholicks, and by the management of Commillioners, they were bound out of the price of the same Goods, to indemnifie the Monks, the Missionaries, the ancient, the modern, and the future Catholicks, from those damages and interests which they should pretend, which they would have enhanced above the value of their Goods. Sixthly, The Edict also ordereth, that belides those that shall go out of the Valleys of their own accord, the Prince should referve to himself a power to banish whom he shall think fit, for the securing the repose of those that remain, which supposes not only that the conditions of the Edict were so disadvantageous, that there would be many Waldenfes, who would not accept them. nor depart out of their Station; but also that their departure ought not to be looked upon as a Favour, but as a Punishment that they intended to inflict on several Waldenses, since they reserved to themselves a power to banish those who should have a mind to stay. Seventhly, The Ambaffadors were not named in the Edick, and the Waldenses had no security for the execution of those things that are therein contained. They had good reason then very much to mistrust these proceedings. fince the many fad experiences that they had made on feveral occasions. how ill their Enemies kept their word, especially in this juncture, when they had broke the most inviolable Laws, were but too just a ground for their suspicions. Lastly, Since the Duke of Savoy had declared that he was not the Master of this affair, because of the engagements that he had taken with the King of France, it was not to be prefumed that his Majesty, on whom this matter depended, would take any other meafures, in respect of the Waldenses, than those he had taken with regard

to his own Subjects. The Waldenses had also several other reasons grounded on the impossibility of their departure in so short a time, and

upon other obstacles.

The Communities sent their resolution to the Ambassadors, who used all the diligence imaginable, to procure for the Waldenses Conditions more certain and more advantageous than those that are contained in the Edict; but neither their reasons nor their sollicitations produced any effect. They were always told, that as long as the Waldenses were in Arms, they could not agree to any thing, nor so much as promise any thing positively. As also the Waldenses being perswaded that they would not disarm them, but to distroy them without trouble and without resistance, would by no means yield to it, and persisted in their resolution to disend themselves, if they came to attack them.

There happened a thing that served much to confirm them in this resolution. Two or three days after the publication of the Edict, several persons, namely, Tholozan, Gaurier, Gauanre, Chabriet, and ten or twelve other inhabitants of the Valleys, went to the Intendant, to declare to him, that they and their Families intended to go out of the Estates of Piedmont, conformably to the Edick, and to defire of him safe Conducts, which he refused them, under pretence that they should 1 ay till they went out with the relt. Moreover, because there were several who refisted his sollicitations to change their Religion, he caused them to be put in Prison, where some of them languillied, and at last died miserably, and others remained there above nine months, viz. till the time when all the other Prisoners were discharged. There is no need of any further proof to make it appear, that their delign was to destroy the Waldenses, who would not change their Religion. However, the Communities of the Valleys having received a Letter from the Ambalsadors, made another Assembly at Rocheptate, the 19th. of April: They persisted in their resolution not to accept the Edict, and to defend themselves. It was then ordered in that Assembly, that all the Ministers should preach, and administer the Sacrament the Sunday following, which was Easter-day. The Valley of S. Martin entered into this deliberation with the rest, but put it not in execution. Some of that Valley changed their mind, without acquainting the other Valleys. the Rectors of the Church of Villeseche wrote to the Ambassadors who were yet at Turin upon the point of their departing, a Letter dated the 20th of April, wherein they declared to them, that they would execute the Edict, they entreated them for that reason, to procure for them a safe Conduct, and some time to provide for their retreat. One of the Ambiffadors

baffadors took the pains to go to the Camp to demand a fafe Conduct; but they deni'd it, under pretence that they had not defired it in time. It was always too foon or too late, and the time was never convenient to obtain lafe Conducts. In the mean time the Duke of Savoy was come into the Camp some days after the publication of the Edict, to the end he might strike terrour into the Waldenses by his presence, and torce them to accept of the Conditions that he had imposed on them; he had made a review of his Troops, and of those of France, that were encamped on the Plain at the foot of the Alps; his Army was composed of his Family, of all the Cava'rie and Infantry, and the Militia of Mondovi, of Barjes, of Bagnols, and of a great number of Foragers. the Army of France consisted of several Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, of seven or eight Battalions of Foot, that had passed the Mountains, and a Party of the Garison of Pignerol and Casal, he had also prepared all things to attack the Waldenses, as soon as the Truce that was granted them should be expired, having appointed his own Army to storm the Valley of Lucerne and the Community of Angrogne; and the Army of France to attack the Valleys of S. Martin and Peirouse. The Waldenses on the other side had taken some care to defend themselves; they possessed but a part of the Valley of Lucerne. For the Tower that gives the Name to this Valley, and many other confiderable places were in the Enemies hand. The Community of Angrogne, from which some call the Valley by the same Name, by reason of its large extent, was not wholly occupied by the Waldenses. In the Valley of Peirouse they took up only certain Posts in the places that depend on the Estates of Piedmont; for this Valley is divided by the Cluson between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; but they were in possession of all the Valley of S. Martin, being the throngest of all by its situation. They had fortified themselves in every one of those Valleys with several Retrenchments of Earth and dry Stones. They were about 2500. Men bearing Arms; they had made Captains and Officers of the chiefest among themselves, for they had no Foreigners, and they expected the approach of the Enemies with a great deal of resolution. But fince on the one fide they had neither regular Troops, nor Captains, nor experienced Officers; and that on the other side there were several Waldenses who had been corrupted, or that had relented during the Negotiation; it is not to be wondered if they took not all the necessary precautions that were in their power. One of the greatest faults they committed was, their striving to maintain all their Posts; For if they had abandoned the most advanced, and had retired withing the Retrenchments they had made

made in the Mountains, it is not likely that they would have been beaten

out of them.

The 22d. of April being the day appointed for the attack, the French Army commanded by Catinat Governor of Cafal, marched two hours before day by Torch-light against the Valleys of Peirouse and S. Martin, having for some time followed the River Cluson on the Kings Territories. Catinat sent out a Detachment of Infantry, commanded by Vellevieille Lieutenant Colonel in Limosin, who having passed the River over a Bridge, entered into the Valley of Peirouse on the side of Piedmont. seized on S. Germain a Village that the Waldenses had abandoned, and came to attack a Retrenchment that they had made hard by, in which there were two hundred Men. The Waldenses quitted this Post after some resistance, and took possession of another more advantageous. In the mean time a new Detachment of Horse and of yellow Dragoons having again passed the River, came to relieve the Foot who had began the Engagement. They used their utmost efforts to gain the Entrenchments of the Waldenses, which they thought easily to be Masters of, fince they were fix to one; but they found so stout a relistance, that after having lost abundance of their Soldiers, they were forced to entrench themselves at a Pistol shot distance; continual Fires were made on both sides for more than ten hours together; but at length the Waldenses went out of their Entrenchments with their Swords in their hands, furprized the French, who little expected so bold an action, and drove them even into the Plain on the other fide of the Clufon, where opportunely they found a Bridge that kept them from being drowned. There were on this occasion more than five hundred French-men killed and wounded, and among the rest several Officers of note, and the Waldenses had but two men killed and some few wounded. The account that the contrary Party hath given of this Action, entituled, A Relation of the War against the Religious, called Barbets, agrees in this, concerning the great loss the French then sustained; for it affirms that the Fire of the revolted put a great Party of them into disorder. It confirmeth also the routing of the French; for it faith, that the Waldenses fell violently upon the Soldiers, and drove them out to the other side of the Cluson. In this rout Villevieille threw himfelf into the Church of S. Germain with threescore and ten Soldiers and some Officers: They summoned him to furrender himself, and offered him good Quarter; but he resused it, and shewed great courage, although they had killed and wounded a Party of his men. The Waldenses had nevertheless infallibly forced him; but the night being come, they found themselves so harrassed with the

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fatigue of the day, that they were constrained, having left a few behind to guard at the door of the Church, to go leck for some refreshment. Villevieille was disengaged at break of day by certain Troops that the Governor of Pignerol had caused to march all night. The Waldenses retreated into their Intrenchments, thinking that they would come and attack them, but the Enemies being gathered together in greater numbers than the day before, were content to encamp out of the reach of a Pistol-shot, without shooting on either side but at random for two days together. Whilst things passed thus in Peirouse, the Body of the Kings Army repassed the Cluson to the Fort of Peirouse on rhe side of France, then Catinat made a Detachment of Horse commanded by Melac, who having passed the River on two Bridges, fetch'd a compass about to gain the high grounds that separate the Valley of S. Martin from Dauphine. The rest of the Army having likewise passed the River, went to encamp with Catinat at Bolards part of the night, and the next day attack'd the Valley of S. Martin at a Village called Rio-But fince thoie that had the command in that Valley, did not think that they would molest them, after they had shewn their inclination to accept of the Amnesty, especially since the day appointed for their departure out of that Valley was not prefixed: The Waldenfes were not in a condition to defend themselves nor to make any resistance. but yielded to lay down their Arms, and to implore the pity and compassion of the Conqueror. But the French being heated and vexed with what had paffed before S. Germain, were not content only to burn, to ravilh, and to pillage, but they maffacred without distinction of Age or Sex, with an unparallel'd fury all those that could not escape their barbarous Cruelty. Catinat having ravaged all the Country of Rigglaret after a most horrible manner, left some Troops in the Valley of S. Martin traversed with the Body of his Army the mountains that separate this Valley from that of Peironfe, and encamped without any opposition, in the Community of Pramol in the Valley of Peirouse; the Soldiers notwithstanding put to the edg of the Sword all that fell into their hands. without respect to Women nor Children, to the old nor the fick. the mean time the Detachment that Melac commanded, having encamped one night on the eminencies of the Valley of S. Martin, entered through divers passages into that Valley, having certain Waldenses for their Guides, who were so base and treacherous as to conduct them through ways unknown to any but the Inhabitants of the Country. He left wherefoever he passed the marks of an unheard of rage, and joyned the main Body . Body of the Army that was encamped at Pramol. I shall not here give an account of the Cruekties that were exercised here on these occasions and many others: It shall be sufficient to report in the sequel of this Relation, some Examples whereby one may judge of the rest.

It is necessary to interrupt the Relation of the Actions of the French in the Valley of Peirouse, because their happened things in the Valley of

Lucerne and Angrogue that ought to be known before.

The Army of the Duke of Savoy having had their Rendezvouz at the Plain of S. John the 22d. of April, was divided the next day into several Bodies, that attack'd divers Entrenchments that the Waldenses had made in the Valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne. The Waldenses not being able to relift the Enemies Cannon in the Post that were too open, where the Horse might also draw up, were forced after some resistance to abandon a part of these Entrenchments, and to withdraw into a Fort that was more advantageous above Angrogne, where they found themselves. to be near five hundred Men. The Enemy having burnt all the Houfes that they found in their way, came to storm the Fort of the Waldenfer, who received them so warmly with their Muskets and Stones, and defended themselves so vigorously against this great Body, that they kept their Post all that day without the loss of above five men; the Enemy lost above three hundred, though they were covered with an Intrenchment beyond Piltol shot. The Waldenses fearing that they should not be able to keep this Fort any longer, by reason that the Troops encreased, passed into another distant an hundred paces beyond it, in a more convenient place, there they expected with great resolution the Army that advanced to attack them; when the next day being the 24th of April, they were informed that the Valley of S. Martin was furrendered, and that the French were coming on their backs; for from that Valley there is an easie passage to those of Lucerne and Angrogne. This news obliged the Waldenses to treat with Don Gabriel of Savoy, Uncle to and General of the Armies of the Duke of Savoy, and with the refe of the General Officers, who having underflood the mind of his Royal Highness, promised positively on his part and on their own, that the Waldenses should be absolutely pardoned, and that they should be remitted to the terms of the Order of the 5th of April, provided they would yield themselves up to his Clemency: But the Waldenses making some difficulty to confide in this promise, Don Gabriel who had notice of it, fent them a Note written and figued with his own hand in the name of his Royal Highness, to this effect, Lay down your Arms immediately, and submit your selves to bis Royal Highness's Clemency, in so deine,

doing, affure your felves that he will pardon you, and that your perfons and those of your Wives and Children shall not be touched. An assurance of this nature might give full fatisfaction to the Waldenses for the security of their lives and liberties. For besides that this promise was made in the name and on the part of the Duke; on the other hand, though it had been made only by Don Gabriel and the General Officers, it ought not to be the less inviolable. The Waldenses then lay down their Arms. relying on this promise, and the greatest purt of them went and surrendred themselves to their Enemies, believing that they should be quickly released. But all those that yielded themselves into their hands, were made Prisoners, and carried to the City of Lucerne, under pretence of leading them to his Royal Highness to make their submissions. nemies seized also all the Posts that the Waldenses possessed in the Community of Angrogne; they were not content only to plunder, to pillage and to burn the Houses of these poor People, but they also caused a great number of the Waldenses of what Age or Sex soever, to be put to the edg of the Sword, they ravilhed abundance of Women and Virgins, and in fine, committed Actions so barbarous and brutish, that they are enough to strike horror into the minds of all those that have any shame or sense of humanity left. There were nevertheless many Waldenses, who after this composition dispersed themselves up and down, not being willing to deliver themselves into the hands of their Enemies, till they had heard what became of the first that did: seeing then on the one hand, that the Army exercifed all manner of outrages whither foever they came. and on the other, that all those that had surrendered themselves were detained, they hid themselves in the Woods, and sent a Petition to Don Gabriel by a man of S. John named Bartholomew Fraschie, to entreat the release of their Brethren whom they kept in hold contrary to their word, and to cause a ceffation of those Acts of Hostility that the Army executed after so barbarous a manner. Don Gabriel returned no answer to this request; but certain Officers replyed to Fraschie, that they carried the Waldenses to Lucerne, for no other cause, but to ask forgiveness of his Royal Highness, 'and that afterwards they should be released. In the mean time Don Gabriel caused the highest places of the Valley of Angrogne to be gained by part of his Army, who finding no more opposition, came as far as the Tower, being the most considerable Fort of the Waldenses, in which they had the greatest part of their Cattle. The Marquess de Parelle who commanded this Body of the Army. gave the Waldenfes to understand, that a Peace being concluded by the Capitulation of Angregne, he offered to them the enjoyment of the fruirs of the said Peace. He assured them to this effect, on the Word and Honour of a Gentleman, That if they would deliver themselves into his hands, their Persons and those of their Wives and Children should be preserved harmless; that they might carry away with them what they had a mind to, without fear of having any thing taken from them; that they had nothing to do but to come to Lucerne to make their Submissions to his Royal Highness; and that upon this condition, those that were willing to turn Catholicks, might return with all Safety to their Houses and Goods; and those that would go out of the Estates of Piedmont, should have Liberty to depart, conformably to the Order of the 9th of April. The Waldenses that were in the Field and in the Tower yielded themselves again, upon the credit of these Promises, that were no better performed than the other: for the Enemies were no fooner entred within the bounds of the Tower, when not only all that belonged to the Waldenses, was left to the plunder of the Soldiers, and of the Banditi of Mondovi their mortal Enemies, who enriched themselves with their spoils: but those poor people, the greateli part of whom confifted of old Men, of tick Persons, and of Women and Children, were made Prisoners, with some Ministers who were among them, and hurried along so violently, that those who through Age or Infirmity could not march so fast as the Soldiers would have them, had their Throats cut, or were flung headlong down Precipices.

To return to the French, whom we left at Pramol in the Valley of Peirouse, they committed almost the same Outrages that the Dukes Troops had done at Angrogne and at the Tower in the Valley of Eucerne. They were encamped in a Quarter of the Community of Pramol, called la Rua, distant about half an hours march from another Quarter called Peumian, where a Party of the Communities of Pramol, St. Germain, Prarustia and Rocheplate were retreated, to the number of 1500 perfons, as well Men as Women and Children. The French might eafily make a descent from their Quarters to St. Germain, and carry away the two hundred Waldenser who had so valiantly descended themselves before, and were retreated within their Retrenchments: but they being intormed of the loss of the Valley of St. Martin, and of the Enemies March, quitted this Intrenchmente fearing lest they should be surprized in it, and went into Peunian with their Brethren. They were confulting how they might defend themselves against the French who prepared to attack them, when certain Inhabitants of the Valleys who had revolted to the Enemy, came and affured them that the Valleys of Angrogne and Lucerne had already submitted to their Prince's discretion, who had pardoned them, and referred them to the terms of the Order of the 9th of April. They told them also, That he only offer'd them to put an end to a War, the weight whereof they were not able to fulfain alone, and to procure for themselves an advantageous Pcace. This News having in part broke the measures of the Waldenses, they sent Deputies and a Drummer to treat with the General of the French Army, who defired nothing more than a Proposition of Peace. He told them that his Royal Highness's Intention was to pardon them, and promised them positively on the part of the Prince and on his own behalf, the Lives and Liberty of the Waldenses, with a permillion to return with all security to their Houses and Goods, provided they would readily lay down their Arms: and whereas the Deputies represented to him that they feared lest the French, being exasperated with what had passed at St. Germain, should revenge themselves on the Waldenses when they were disarmed; he made great Proteflations to them, and confirmed them with Oaths. that although the whole Army should pass by their Houses, yet they should not kill so much as a Chicken. This Proposition being made, Catinat detained with him one of the Deputies, and fent back the others to give notice to the Waldenses, and to oblige all them that were difpersed to meet together the next day, being the 25th of April, at Peumian, to the end that every one might return to his House after they were informed of the Peace, while the Waldenses were gathering together their scattered Families at Peumian, Catinat gave an account of this Capitulation to Don Gabriel, who fent a Courier to him in the Evening, who passing through Peumian assured the Waldenses that he brought. Peace; and the next day at his Return, he told them that the Peace was concluded. They were so well persuaded of it, that they had laid down their Arms the day before, observing the conditions of the Treaty, and confiding wholly in Catinat's Promifes. In these Circumstances they were expecting the News at Peumian, when there arrived a person named St. Peter, one of the Kings Captains in the Garrison of the Fort of Peiroule, with several Dragoons with him. This Captain, who was very well known by the Waldenses, repeated to them the assurances of Peace, and caused the Men to be put in one Quarter, and the Women and Children in another. The French Troops being arrived at the fame time, told the Men that they had Orders to lead them to their own Houses, and caused them to march four by four. These poor people being forced to leave their Wives and their Daughters expoled to the discretion of the Soldiers, were conducted, not to their Houfes

fes, as they were told, but to Don Gabriel who was encamped on the Mountain de la Vachiere, and caused them to be carried Prisoners to Lucerne. In the mean time, the Women suffer'd all the abominable usage and cruelty that the rage of brutish Soldiers could invent; for these Barbarians were not satisfied with risling them of all the money they had about them, but they ravished many Women and Virgins after a manner that modesty sorbids to relate, and murther'd several of them that offer'd to relist in defence of their Honour. Catinat was not present at this that was acted at Peumian. He left the management of this Affair to certain Officers, without doubt that he might be out of the hearing of those Complaints that the Waldenses might justly have made to him, or that he might not be a spectator of these villanous Actions. Howsoever it were, it is certain that besides the Women that were killed, and those that escaped by flight from the perfecution of these Monsters, and saved themselves in the neighbouring Woods, in danger of being killed by the Musquets they that to stop them: all the rest of them were dragged to divers Prisons after a most inhuman manner.

It were needless here to alledge any reasons to make it appear that the Enemies of the Waldenses have broke in these Rencounters the most sacred and most inviolable Laws. This Relation of what hath 'passed is sufficient's to confirm the truth, since it is evident that the Waldenses have fallen, as fo many Sacrifices to the false promises of their Enemies. And it is in vain that they pretend to excuse themselves from this Treachery, under pretence that the Waldenses were rebellious Subjects; who had taken up Arms against their lawful Prince; for besides that it were easie to demonstrate that they cannot be accused of Rebellion, fince they have only made use of a natural and warrantable Defence against the unjust and violent oppression of the Council of the Propagation, and of their other Enemies; on the other hand, the Question is not whether the Waldenfes have a right to do what they have done? The case is precisely concerning the execution of those Promises that have been made to them? notwithstanding this pretended Rebellion, fince this is the only Foundation of those Promises that they made. Now it is certain that the breaking of their Word in this nature can never be justified but by those that follow this pernicious Maxim, That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks. It is certain also, That Kings and Princes are so much the more obliged to condemn this Maximo in regard that they are the lively Images of God Almighty, who hath never failed to keep his faithful Promites, and who hath always punished Perjury and Perfidiousness 1

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cither in the person of those that have committed it, or in that of their Posterity. It is also in vain that they would say, that when the Waldenses surrendred themselves, they only promised them their Lives, according to the relation of the contrary party; for it hath been justified that they had positively promised them their Liberty. But supposing that they had only promised them their Lives, can it be said in good truth that they have kept their Word? Is it not true, on the contrary, That they have caused almost all to expire under the weight of an unsupportable misery, and of the hardest Captivity that ever was?

The Valley of Peirouse being reduced as the others, by the Capi ulation of Péumian, a Party of the French Army quitted this Valley, and went to joyn Don Gabriel at la Vachiere: then it was that they gathered together the poor Waldenses from all Parts, and dragged them into divers Prisons or Castles, under pretence of leading them to his Royal Highnels to ask his pardon; but that which was most afflicting and most lamentable, was this, That they refused, upon their earnest Prayers and Tears, to put their Families together. They separated a Father from his Child, and a Husband from his Wife, to take away from them all means of supporting and comforting one another. They broke the facred bonds of Nature and Confanguinity, to the end that they might be the less able to withstand those Femptations, and to undergo those Evils that they had prepared for them; they would have those who could not bear the sufferings and miseries of a close Confinement, to be confumed with the corroding anguilh and regret of being separated so far from their Kindred. There was a great number of young Boys and Girls whom they put not in prison, but dispersed through Piedmont in private Houses; yet this was not done upon point of Equity, but only to make them change their Religion, tocause them to be instructed in the Catholick, and to ravish them from their Parents.

There was also a considerable number of Waldenses who had not surrendred themselves, and were not taken. For those of Villars, of Boby, and some other Places in the Valley of Lucerue, would not come to composition as the rest did, that they might not partake of the same fortune. Several of those of Angrogue, had joyned with them, having seen the Enemies break their word; and several Waldenses of the Valley of St. Martin had took Sanduary, and retreated into the Woods and in the Rocks, to escape the barbarous sury of the French, who gave no Quarter. The Enemies were resolved to become Masters of these Waldenses by sorce or by craft, as they had done to the others.

others. For the effecting this, while a body of the Army of the Duke of Savoy was engaged against those that remained in Arms in the Vallev of Lucerne, the French returned into that of St. Martin with the Marquels de Parelle, who was a Person well known to the Walderses, and very fit to persuade them. He knew by experience, that Policy was a more certain means to gain his ends than open Force. He made use of then certain Waldenses who had yielded themselves, in whom the People had much confidence. He caused them to march at the head of the Army, and with Pistols presented to their Breasts, forced them not only to serve as Guides to the French, to discover the Waldenses in their most hidden Recesses; but also to write several Letters to the Valley of St. Martin, to exhort their Country-men to Submit themselves to the Clemency of their Prince, whose Pardon was off a'd to all those who would accept it: and because the measures that they had taken with respect to those that had surrendred themselves, might take away the credit of this Sollicitation, they added, in many of these Letters, That the Prisoners should be suddenly released; whereupon, on the light of these Letters, the Writing and Character whereof they knew, and on the affurance that the Marquels de Parelle, and the other general Officers, gave the Waldenses concerning the Peace and Favour of the Prince, a great number of these poor people delivered themselves into their hands within a few days: many others were taken or butcher'd by the Soldiers; but those that yielded themselves, and those that were taken, had the same fate; and were equally carried Prisoners into divers Prisons or Casiles.

Whilst Subtility or Cruelty depopulated the Valley of St. Martin of its Inhabitants, let us see what happens in the Valley of Lucerne. The Waldenses possissed among others two Posts, one called Faimis, and the other Chamroma, beyond the Tower, wherein a Party of those that had escaped at Angregne had cast themselves. These two Posts covered Villary, where there were about a thousand Persons, as well old Men as Women and Children. A detachment of the Army of the Duke of Savoy enforced by the Bandini of Mondovi, came to attack thefe two Posts, wherein the Waldenses defended themselves a whole day with extraordinary Courage: They killed a great number of Soldiers and confiderable Officers, alriong whom was the Commander of the They had but fix men killed and as many wounded. Enemies were extreamly wearied, and having no more Ammunition left, began to think of a Retreat; but fince they might have been easily pursued, and deseated in Retreatings they made use of this E 2 Stra-

Stratagem: Several Officers having laid their Arms and their Hats on the ground, approached in the Evening to the Intrenchment of Chamrama, with a Handkerchief tied to the top of a Stick, and demanded a Parley, to make Propositions of Peace: they shewed a Paper, and told the Waldenses that they had just now received Letters, the purport of which was, That the Pcace was concluded in all the Valleys; that his Royal Highness had given a General Pardon to all his Subjects. and that those that were still in Arms were comprehended as well as the others: they added, That they had Orders not to fight any more. but to retreat; and exhorted the Waldenses to do the same, and to accept of this favour that his Royal Highnets had offer'd them, whereof the Podesta Prat, who was there present, might affure them. This Podeft 2 being well known to the Waldenses, having joyned his Protestations with those of the Officers, and all together having positively promised them their Lives and Liberty provided that they would retire: the Waldenses of Chamrama confiding in their Promises, left off firing, and gave their Enemies opportunity of retreating, and retreated also themselves, being all persuaded that the Peace was made. There were several of the Community of Angrogne who met at the Tower to enjoy the fruits of this Peace, but they were presently committed to Prison. The Credulity of the Waldenses made them lose a fair opportunity of revenging themselves on their Enemies; for they might without trouble or danger have vanquished those Troops that had no Ammunition of War left, and the greatest part of whom were in The Enemy that feigned to retreat, only to cause the Waldenses to retire, and to oblige them to abandon the Post of Chamrama that was so advantageous, being reinforced with some Succors, immediately seized on the said Post. Those that were at Faimer, and had made no Composition, were thereupon forced to quit their Post, because it was commanded by the other, and to wheel off to the Hills of Villars. The Enemy marched on after them, and encamped at Bonnet on the Avenues of Villars and Boby; they remained there two days without florming the Waldenses, who were got together; and might make four or five hundred med. The Officers of the Army spent this time in making Propositions of Peace to them, accompanied with fair Promises if they yielded, and terrible Threatnings if they refused. The Waldenses replied to these Propositions. That they were defirous of nothing more than Peace, but that that which they offer'd them was more lamentable than War, fince they could not purchase it but at the price of their Liberty; that notwith**ftanding** 

standing the Peace that they had promised to those of Chamrama, in pursuance of which they had quitted their Post, they had not left imprisoning those that surrendred themselves; and that the Example of their Brethren had sufficiently instructed them what they were to expect from such Propolitions: however this hindred not a great number of Waldenfes f.om going to deliver themselves into their hands on the account that they had fworn to them, those who would submit (hould return quickly to their Houses, without being carried to his Royal Highness to beg his Pardon; but these also were clap'd in Prison, and treated after the same manner as the others. There is great reason to admire the easiness with which the Waldenses suffer'd themselves so often to be deceived. But it is to be observed, that there were many who could not believe that it was possible for them to relift after the reddition of the Body of the Valleys, others feared left Retistance would be of mischievous consequence to their Wives and Children that were in Prison, and the greatest part could not be perfuaded that their Enemies would be so cruel as to cause those to perish in Prifon who had furrendred themselves. They imagined that they should be discharged for a few Weeks Captivity, and that afterwards

they should obtain their Liberty.

However, the Waldenses being very much weakned, left Villars, which the Enemies seised. They gave them respit till the 4th of May, when the Troops being re-inforced, went to attack Boby, where the Waldenses were retired; but they were vigorously repulsed by 150 Waldenfes who were on the Mountain of Subjusque, and without the loss. of a man, killed some Officers and a great number of Soldiers. Eight days after, the Army of France joined that of the Duke of Savoy. The Enemies then made their last Effort to gain Boby; but the Waldenses defended themselves so resolutely, that after a Fight that lasted all the day, they forced the Army to retire, and to go and encamp at Sarfena, with the loss of abundance of their men. The next day the Marquess de Parelle, who came from the Valley of St. Martin, with a great Detachment paffed the Mountain of Julian, which is one of the Alpes, that was thought, till then, inaccessible, and prepared to take the Waldenses from above. This obliged the Waldenses to abandon Bobi, and to convey themselves into the Woods and Rocks. The Marquess de Parelle, and the Count de Birchanteau, having occupied the Posts that the Waldenses had quitted, sent after them in their Retreat divers' Persons to exhort them to submit, and to offer them favour: several of these poor People being worn out with

the Fatigue, and fore pressed with Hunger and Misery, yielded to this Osser, but they lost their Liberty into the bargain. Others surrendred themselves to the Governor of Mireboue, on an assurance that he had given them of their Lives and Liberty; but he rewarded their Faith with a rigorous Imprisonment. There were several who had withdrawn themselves into the Mountain of Vandalin, and sought for some time with much Courage and good Fortune: but at last they did as the others, and let themselves be seduced by the Count de la Ruche, Governor of the Valleys. He promised them positively, by a Letter wrote with his own hand, that they should return to their Houses with all freedom; but they had no sooner quitted their Post, than that he caused them to be carried to Prison, and took from them the Letter that he had given them.

The Encinies of the Waldenses having thus by the means aforementioned taken away the Lives of a multitude of People, deprived more than twelve thousand Waldenses of their Liberty, and taken away and dispersed two thousand Children, thought that they had no more to do. They proceeded to carry on their Injustice to the utmost, and

caused all the Goods of the Waldenses to be confiscated.

After this manner it was, that the Valleys of Piedmont have been depopulated of their ancient Inhabitants; that the light of the Gospel hath been extinguished in a Country where it hath shore so bright for so many Ages; that Persidiousness and Treachery hath triumphed over the good Faith of the Waldenses; that the Council of the Propagation and the rest of their Enemies, have executed the design they had formed for their Extirpation; and that the Waldenses have unjustly suffered, and for the sole cause of their Religion, this horrible Persecution and lamentable Dissipation, that ought to draw Tears from the eyes of all good Christians. But for the more persect knowledge of what Spirit their Persecutors have been animated with, it will be requisite to take a prospect of the Outrages and Cruesties they have committed on these occasions.

Although it is my design to give an Account only of those dismal effects of their rage that were produced after the Capitulations, yet I cannot but mention the barbarous Enormities wherewith the French signalized their entry into the Valley of St. Martin; not only because they exceed those bounds that Christians ought to set to their Victories, but also because they were committed on Persons not capable of defending themselves: it were easie to expose to publick view the Massacre of so many old Men, Women, and little Children that were facrificed

to the fury of the Soldiers, the desolation of those poor Women and Maidens, who after they had been ravished, were constrained to march stark naked at the head of the Army, to serve for Guides to the French, and the monstrous and diabolical actions of those enraged Soldiers that satiated their infamous Lusts on the very Bodies of those whom they had deprived of Life. But I shall pass by all those things, to produce some examples of Cruelties and Oppressions executed after the subduing of the Valleys.

The Soldiers committed feveral Mafficres at Angrogne, which I shalf not specifie, that I may not be engaged in too tedious a recital. They ravished many Women and Maidens, whose Names (for modesty sake) I thall spare, by reason that several of them are yet living. They would also have deflowered Margaret Marande who was not fourteen years old, and because James Marande her Father, and Margaret Marande made fome opposition to this Violence, they were mest inhumanly butcher-Susanna Oliviette and Margaret Baline endervouring to preserve their Chastity lost their Lives by the hands of these Barbarians. Fofeph David being wounded at Angrogne, was carried by the Soldiers into a neighbouring House, where they caused him to be burnt. Four Women and three Children of Prarultin were murthered in a Cave in a Rock where they had hid themselves. Daniel Fourneron's Mother aged fourfcore years was tumbled down a Precipice coming from the Tower-field, because she did not go fall enough. M. Deumian kill'd the Wife of James Fourneron and Magdalen Roche, with a Back Sword, because they had not delivered soon enough the Mony that they had about them. Mary Romain a handsom young Woman espoused to Fames Griot was massacred for striving to maintain her Honour. Another Maid for keeping hers, being calt into a River, was killed with a Musket-shot. Several Women and Maidens who are yet living, were dragged by the Hair into Houses, where they were ravished with abominable circumstances; there was one of these who through despir flung herfelf headlong out at Window. Honoria Fayer a young Child, being found with the Woman, was shot to death with a Fuzee: A great number of Women and Virgins trying to fave themselves in the Woods to get out of danger of the Violences of the Soldiers, were difpatched with Muskets that were shot off to stop them. The Marques's de Parelle and several Waldenses whom he caused to march to serve him for Guides, passing through Plumian to go into the Valley of S. Martin, found the dead Bodies of many little Children cut in pieces, several naked Women massacred with Swords, among whom there were fome

fome that had Stones thrust into their Privy Parts: They saw also several Soldiers that carried in their Hats the mark of an horrible Cruelty, and of a diabolical Impudicity, at the fight whereof, the Marquels de Parelle was offended. In the Valley of S. Martin there were fix men, twenty Women, and some Children, who went to furrender themselves in the City of Peirouse, upon promise that was made them that they should receive no harm. But as soon as they. were come they that these fix men to death in the presence of their Wives. John Ribet of Macel being apprehended, they caused his Arms and Legs to be burnt, to oblige him to change his Religion; but God gave him the Grace to obtain the Crown of Martyrdom, in conffantly fuff ring the Death that these Butchers put him to. They also inhumanly murthered Bartholomew Ribet, James Breus and his Son. They tyed a poor infirm Person to a Horses Tail, and drag'd him along till he expired. They hung up an old blind Woman before her own House. They found a Woman at the point of being brought to bed, and committed two Murthers at one blow, taking away her Life and that of the Child in her Belly. They purfued after two young Maids from a place called le Colet to another quarter named Bonnior, where having overtook them they ravished them, and at length shot them to death and hack'd them in pieces. Four Women falling at the same time into the hands of these Barbarians, had the same fortune, with this difference only, that before they were ravilhed and massacred, they saw their Childrens Throats cut, at a place called the Fountains. They cut open the Body of a Mother and her Child, and tore out their Entrails which they burned in the Fire. They killed a great number of Children in the same place, because they were sick, and had not strength to follow them into the Prisons where they would have carried them. Twenty two Persons who were for a long time hid in the Woods, the greatest part of whom were Women and Children, were found by these Murtherers on the Mountain of Pelue, and slung down headlong into dreadful Abysses cross the points of the Rocks, where the Entrails of these Martyrs were seen a great while after. In the Valley of Lucerne, Susanna the Wife of Daniel Violin, Katharine the Wife of James Negrin, and Anne Melanote and her Daughter, had their Throats cut with a Baionet. Some Soldiers having uled their utmost endeavours to slea Daniel Pellene alive, and not being able to pull the Skin over his Shoulders, laid him along upon the ground, put a great Stone upon his Belly, and caused him to expire in this condition. Daniel Blumerol lost his life by the means of a Cord that they

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they tied violently about his Head, his Belly, and his Privy Members, Anne and Magdalen Vittorie, and several others were burnt. The Wife of Daniel Monin was massacred with a Back-Sword, and had her Head chopt in pieces. Anne Bastianne was tymbled down the Precipices. David Mondon had his Head cleft afunder with a broad Sword. Margaret Salvajote being stript stark naked, was run through with a Dagger in several parts of her Body, but she did not suffer only this cruel Death in her own person; for before they cut her Throat, these Ruffians mortified her little Daughter about seven months old before her face, and dashed her Head against the Rock, till all her Brains flew out. They cut Mary Salvajor in pieces with a Scimeter. They pierced Mary Durand through with a Dagger because she resisted their design to ravish her. They cut the Throat of the Mother of the Sieur Bertrand a Minister, a Person that was 80 years old, and lay Bed-rid through extreme old Age. A certain Maiden of Boby was tyed stark paked cross a Mule, with her Privy-parts exposed to publick view, and was led about in this condition through the City of Lucerne. Amongst a great number of Waldenses whom they hanged at Boby. there was one called Anthony Malanot, whom the Soldiers that at feveral times after he was dead, taking for their Mark those parts of his Body that modelly forbids to name. The Soldiers having found a Woman named Faimonage in a hole in a Rock on the Mountain of Carbonnieres, brought her to the Marquels de Bevil Colonel of the Regiment of Savoy, who demanded of her how long the had been in that Cavern, and what Food the got there: the made Answer, that the had been there eight days, and that the nourished her felf with a little Milk of a Shee-Goat that shee took along with her: They would force her at length to discover where the Waldenses were that hid themselves in the Rocks; but she protesting that she knew nothing of them, the Soldiers having put her to a fort of Torture by fastening their Matches to her fingers to make her speak, tied her Feet to her Head backwards, and in this posture hurled her down a Precipice: but as the was stopped in falling, the Soldiers slinging Stones and Brick-bats at her, caused her Bowels to drop out of her Belly, and thrust her down headlong in the presence of the Marquels de Bevil. A young Lad of the Valleys, by name David Magnot, whom the faid Marquels took for his Domestick Servant, and who had afterwards made his escape, was an Eye-witness of, and related this horrible Action. Daniel Moudon an Elder of the Church of Roras, after he had been spectator of the Death of his two Sons John and James Moudon, whose Heads the Soldiers cut off, having seen Fobn's Wife cleaved afunder

asunder from her Breast to the bottom of her Belly, her Child also knock'd on the Head that was but fix weeks old, and Fames's two Children cut in pieces, one whereof was four years old, and the other but fourteen months, was constrained by these Butchers to carry the Heads of his two Sons on his shoulders, and to travel thus bare-foot two hours, till they came to Lucerne, where he was hanged in the middle of these Heads that were stuck upon the Gibbet. I shall pass over an infinite number of examples of Barbarity of the like nature; not to mention the miserable Death of so many old Men, Women, young Infants and fick persons that died with cold and hunger in the Woods or in the clefts of the Rocks: Not to mention an incredible number of Prisoners that were hanged without form of Justice on the branches of Trees, or in the Towns and Villages, among whom there was one Paul Megle aged 27 years, whom they carried from his Bed to the Gallows. At present I shall content my felf with what I have already related, which may be sufficient to shew how far the sury of the Enemies of the Waldenses proceeded. I shall only add here the Death of the Sicur Leider that equally deserves pity and admiration: He was-Minister of Prabe in the Valley of S. Martin, who had escaped at the fubduing of the Valleys, and had hid himfelf for some time within the Caverns of the Rocks; He was taken by a Detachment of Soldiers, and carried to Lucerne into the Palace of the Marquels of Angroune, where the Duke of Savoy was at that time: He was put in prison within a Tower of this Palace, and fetter'd with a kind of Stocks that were made with two thick pieces of Timber, between which they lock'd his Legs: He remained a great while in this condition, fed with Bread and Water. not being able to lie down by reason of the weight of those Shackles; it was reported that he had taken up Arms, but it was a false Accusation, from which he was cleared even by the Testimony of those that apprehended him: They let him lie several months in Prison, without bringing him to his Tryal, and some Judges themselves defired to be excused from being concern'd in his Process. In the mean time there was not a day piffed wherein he was not exposed to the Persecutions of the Monks and Priests, and had great Disputes with them about matters of Religion, wherein he came off always victorious. They caused one day two Bibles to be brought, wherein he demonstrated to them so clearly the truth of his Belief, that being ashamed and put to confusion, they retired after a Conference of four hours. They often threatened himwith Death, thinking thereby to affright him, and told him several times that there was no other means to preserve himself, but by turning Catholick. But he received the news of his Death with a great deal of Tranquillity

Tranquillity. He replyed to them, that although he knew well that they could not put him to death with Justice, since he was not taken in Arms, and that belides the Duke of Savoy had pardoned all his Subjects; nevertheless he was prepared for death, esteeming himself most happy to be able to suffer for the Name of Telus Christ. He fortified by his example and pious Exhortations the Piisoners that were in the same Palace, some of whom were permitted to see him. At last, the Monks and Priests provoked with his Zeal and Constancy, found out Judges who were willing enough to condemn him to Death. The day that he was executed, the Auditor Salvay caused Sentence to be pronounced against him in the presence of certain Monks, he heard the publication thereof with a relignation altogether Christian, without any emotion, trouble, or fear appearing in his Countenance. The Monks left him not that day, and although he defired them several times to leave him to his repole, that he might pray to God freely without disturbance, yet they always perfecuted him, and forced him to enter into a Dispute with them, thinking that he was not in a condition to maintain it; but he acquitted himself with that Courage and presence of Mind, that they were aftonished at it. This did not hinder them nevertheless from coming again the next morning at break of day, to give themseves the pleasure of tormenting him, even to the end of his life. He said as he was going out of the Prison, that it was the day of a double deliverance to him. fince his Body went out of Captivity, and his Soul was agoing quickly out the Prison of his Body to enter into Heaven, to enjoy the full Liberand Pleasures of the bleffed. He went to Execution with an holy lov and admirable Resolution, despising equally both the Life that the Monks offered him, and the Death that was fet before his eyes; he made a long and good Prayer at the foot of the Scaffold, with which all that affilted were extremely touched. He pronounced these words on the Ladder, O my God, into thy hands I recommend my Spirit; and dyed a Death so edifying, that the Monks themselves, who for look him not to the last, were forced to avouch that he died like a Saint.

At that time there remained only in the Valleys certain Inhabitants, who preferring Death before Slavery, would not hearken to any Propositions of Peace whatsoever. Some of these were in the Valley of S. Martin, and although they could not know one anothers Designs, because the Army was encamped between the two Valleys, and hindered them from having any Communication, yet they were all of the same mind, and equally took up a resolution worthy of immortal Praise. They remained a long time hid and distressed in the Mountains, that they

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might avoid falling into the hands of the Enemies that every day fent out Detachments to surprize them; one cannot sufficiently admire the Constancy with which they endured all the Fatigues and all the Milerics to which they were exposed, but especially that whereby they suffered the extremity of hunger, for they were often compelled to feed on the grafs of the Fields, and to eat Dogs and other Beafts that came to devour the dead Bodies of those Waldenses that were lest unburied. But the French and the Banditi of Mondovi being retired, they were no more so hard ly pressed by the Duke of Savoy's Army that remained alone in the Valley. Then it was that they that were in the Valley of Lucerne began to go out of their places of refuge to search for some Victuals wherewith to tustain their languishing Lives. There were found in this Valley but 42 Men, some Women, and Children when they were got together; nevertheless they made several Incursions into the Plain, from whence they always carried away Victuals and Booty, defeated in several Rencounters. several Détachments of the Enemies, killed or drove away a great number of Surgiards that were come to inhabit in the Valleys, and lastly for some mont of ominitted Actions, so stout, so bold and so vigorous, that they put the Enemies to Contribution, and forced them to furnish them with Provisions for some time, to hinder them from continuing their inroads into the Plain. I shall not here recite all these marvellous A-Ctions, that I may not be engaged in too long a Relation: I shall only say thus much, That the Court of Turin having to no purpose made use of force to drive them out of the Valleys, cauted an offer to be made them of safe Conduct, in due form, and Hostages for the security of their retreat. They that brought the Proposition to the Waldenses, took no care to avouch that they acted by order of the Court of Turin. But they affirmed on the contrary, that they treated only on their own account, and at the motion of some Persons that had promised to procure for them these safe Conducts, and to cause Hostages to be given; but it is certain that these Overtures mere not made without the participation of the Court: For besides that no private person durst have undertook fuch a negotiation of his own head, the fafe Conducts that were afterwards dispatch'd make it appear plain enough, that all was done by the orders of the Court. However it were, the Waldenses at first refused to hearken to this Proposition, whether it were because they thought that they ought not to give any credit to their words, or because they were resolved either to perish, or to bring the Prisoners out of Captivity, Death being more eligible to them than Life, fo long as their Brethren groaned under their Chains. Some time after this Proposition was renewed,

newed, they made use of divers Considerations to oblige the Waldensis to accept it. They told them that the D.of Savey had declared that as long as they were in Arms, the Prisoners should not be released, and promised them politively that as foon as they were gone, orders should be given to set their Brethren at liberty: infomuch that the Waldenses confidering on the one fide that the Winter drew nigh, and that they could not expect any relief; and on the other fide, that their Resistance might give them a pretence to detain the Prisoners, thought it was best for them to retire out of the Estates of Piedmont. It was agreed then and ordained. That they should go out of the Valley's with their Wives and Children, Arms and Baggage, in two Troops or Brigades, that should be defrayed and conducted to Suitzerland at two several times, by one of his Royal Highness's Captains named Perret, with safe Conducts in due form: That for the security of the first Troop that should depart, Hostages should be left in the Valleys in the hands of the second, who should keep them till they were certified of the Arrival of the first; and that as soon as the first Troop should be arrived, this Captain should give them an Officer of his Kindred for an Hostage till such time as the second Troop should be also arrived. This Treaty was faithfully executed; for these two Troops arrived happily in a place of security with their Arms and Baggage under the Conduct of the said Captain. One remarkable Circumstance is not to be forgot; that is, That the Waldenses could never be brought to confent to a Retreat, till they had fent them back some of their. Kinsfolks that were in Prison, and in effect carried them away along with them; whence it may be inferred, That this Treaty was managed by the Court of Turin; since these Prisoners could not have been delivered but by their Orders.

The Waldenses that were in the Valley of St. Martin acted almost the same things as the other had done in the Valley of Lucerne: for although they were reduced at last to twenty five men, and some Women and Children, yet they desended themselves with so much Courage and Resolution, that they procured for themselves safe Conducts and Securities to pass into Snitzerland with their Wives and Children, Arms and Baggage. It is said, That those that were in one Valley knew not what passed in the other, because the Army hindred them from keeping any correspondence one with another. If they had been able to joyn together, or to have heard any News one of another, they had without doubt made a more advantageous Composition, and it may be have rescued their Brethren out of Capti-

vity. For whether the Court of Turin would have been obliged to maintain an Army in the Valleys to hinder the Incursion of the Waldenses, or whether they had a design to re-people that Country with Savoyards, who would not care to go and inhabit there, as long as there were any in Arms; it is probable that to cause them to depart, they would have consented to deliver the Prisoners.

Whilst the valiant Waldenses retreated into Switzerland by vertue of the Hostages and safe Conducts that their Arms had procured, the generous reformed Cantons transacted for the liberty of the Priso-They had wrote several times in vain to the Court of Turin on this Subject: but as their Zeal and Charity never fails, they called an Assembly at Arau in the Month of September 1686, in which they resolved once more to demand the release of the Prisoners: to this effect they fent two Deputies to the Count de Govon the Duke of Savoy's Resident at Lucerne in Switzerland. These Deputies having carried the Proposition to this Resident, and having represented to him the reasons that induced the Reformed Cantons to intercede for the Waldenses, concluded a Treaty with him in the beginning of October by agreement of their Superiors. The tenor of this Treaty was, that the Duke of Savoy should give liberty to all the Prisoners to go into Switzerland in Safety, and that he should cause them to be cloathed, conducted, and their Charges born to the frontiers of Smitzerland, where the Reformed Cantons shall cause them to be received and conducted into the heart of their Country, that they may not be in a condition to re-enter into the Territories of Piedmont. When this Treaty was made they were ignorant without doubt at Lucerne, that the Waldenses afore-mentioned were already retired; for there is an Article that imports that the Duke should give them safe Conducts in due form, that they might be able to retreat freely and securely, which they would not have inferted in this Treaty, if they had known what had passed with respect to them. However the Cantons immediately ratified this Treaty; but the Duke of Savoy did not ratific it till some time after, in a Letter that he wrote to them on this occasion, in which he appoints the Road through which the Prifoners should pass, by Mountains then inaccessible, and by the Country of Valay that belongs not to the Duke of Savoy, nor to the Smitzers, and thorow which there is no going without agreeing for a Passage with the Bishop of Sion in whose jurisdiction it is. It was evident that they defigned to raile obstacles to hinder the execution of this

this Treaty; otherwise they would not have appointed a passage through other Territories than their own, where there are Roads much more convenient to go into Switzerland. The Reformed Cantons complained thereof to the Count de Govon, who having wrote about it to the Court of Turin; at length the Duke order'd their passage through that part of Savoy that borders on the Canton of Bern, and caused the Prisons to be opened; but it was in the middle of Winter and in a season so rigorous, that according to all appearance, those that had escaped the miseries of the Prisons would have perish-

ed on the way.

It would be very difficult to represent all the Miseries and Calamities that the Prisoners have endured during a Captivity of more than nine months. There are nevertheless exact Memorials of what hath paffed in every Prilon, out of which a particular Relation might be collected: but fince it would exceed the due bounds of this present Narrative, I shall only give a general Idea of the Hardships they have suffered, expecting a more particular enumeration of them hereafter. They were put in Prison at several times, according to the different Circumstances wherein they furrendred themselves or were taken. They were dispersed to the number of about two thousand, as well Men as Women and Children, into fourteen Prisons or Castles of the Estates of Piedmont, and they were more or less ill used according to the Humour of those that had the Government of those Prisons: but it is certain, that every where they were exposed to many Inconveniencies and great Sufferings. In every Prison they had nothing but Bread and Water for their ordinary Food; neither had they as much of that as necessity required. In some Prisons they gave them very bad Bread, black and heartless without Substance, kneeded up with dirty Water taken out of Sinks and Kennels, in which they often find pieces of Mortar, Glass, and other Ordure: in other places they gave them slinking and corrupted Water, of which they could hardly drink: they were forced in some places to take it out of a Pond wherein they had watered Cattel and flung in Dogs. In some places they would not suffer them to take Water out of the Wells, but caused it to be poured into Troughs and exposed to the Sun-beams and to the heat of the Weather, that they might not drink it till it were lukewarm. In other Parts they would give them no Water but at certain fet hours, out of which it was not permitted them to take any, thoughthey were ready to dye with thirst. Thirst; which hath caused many poor sick Persons to expire for want of a Glass of Water to refresh their parched Bowels. were compelled almost every where to lye on the hard Bricks with which the Chambers of Piedmont are paved, without Straw: or if in some places they had any given them, it was either reduced to Chaff, or as rotten as Dung. They were so crowded together and stuffed up in some Prisons, that they were scarcely able to stir themselves; and when any of them dyed, which happened every day, they put others in their room, that they might be always equally pressed. The suffocating heat that there was in the Summer, and the Corruption with which the Chambers were infected, by reason of the Sick, had engendred abundance of Lice that would not let the Prisoners sleep night nor day; there were also great Worms that eat thorow their skin: there were several fick Persons to be seen that were (if we may so say) eaten up alive with Worms; for by continual lying, as not being able to rife or lift themselves up, these poor People were become so mangy, that their very skin being already putrified, parted from their Fleth and mouldred away in pieces: they left them thus flead and miserably languishing till death put a period to all their Sufferings. They have not only endured all the inconveniencies of excessive heat, but also those of extreme cold; for in the middle of Winter they never allowed them any fire to warm themselves at, nor gave them any cloths to cover themselves with, tho' they lay in upper Rooms, that for the most part had no Windows. They never were permitted neither during the Summer, nor yet in the Winter, to have any Candles or Lamps to give Light in the obscurest nights, notwithstanding they have often defired it, to find means to fuccor the fick, many of whom have died for want of relief: a great number of Women have also expired in the pains of Child-birth merely for want of help in the dark, and the loss of them hath been followed with that of their Infants, who have received Death the same moment wherein they should have received Life. They have put fick People whom they had separated from the whole, into open places, to be exposed to the injuries of the Air and the Weather, whether fair or foul, wet or dry. But this fort of Cruelty hath proved in some manner charitable, since it hath caufed them to find an end to their Sufferings and Sorrows in that of their Lives. In other Prisons they have put many Children taken with the Small-pox into wet Yards, and on the Gutters of the Houses, forcing

forcing them to receive the water that falls from thence. They are not content not to afford the fick any relief themselves, but hinder others from bringing them any sustenance, as Water-gruel, Broth, &c. Whenever the Prisoners dare so much as to complain of the little care they take of them, they reproach them with threatnings, and blows. They tell them that instead of having compassion on them, they will use them like Dogs till such time as they are all dead. There is hardly a Prisoner that is not seized with many di-There hath been fuch a great number of fick people together, that they have counted threescore and fifteen at the same time in one chamber: They have taken away out of the Prisons many young Children, notwithstanding the opposition of their Parents. In fine, the Prisoners have been so barbarously used, that it is scarce possible to believe, that among those that bear the name of Christians, there could be found so much inhumanity, were it not known to what degree the Enemies of the Waldenses have extended their fury. But we cannot doubt of the excess of miseries that these poor Captives have endured, since we have been informed that more than 8000 persons have expired under the weight of this cruel bondage. In the mean time, as if the fufferings wherewith their bodies were afflicted were not sufficient, they have even persecuted their very souls after a most dreadful manner. For the Monks and the Priests have tried all the means imaginable to oblige them to change their Religion. The good God hath nevertheless given them the grace to perfift in the Truth, and there are very few that have yielded to the force of these temptations: those that turned were treated a little more gently than the others, but they gave them not their liberty.

The Prisoners were reduced to this lamentable condition, when the Duke of Savoy caused the Order to be published in the Prisons, that permitted them to go out, and to retreat into Switzerland. This publication was not made every where in the same manner, nor at the same time; but successively, and with proportion to the departure of the Prisoners. It was made nevertheless in the greatest part of the Prisons by the means of an Auditor who caused the Prisoners to appear before him, and told them that those that had a mind to retreat out of the Estates of Piedmont to go into Switzerland were permitted so to do; even those that had promised to change their Religion, because that promises that had been made in a Prison ought to be look'd on as forced and extorted, and by consequence

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nul and void. He added that they were left to their liberty, whether they would go, or stay behind and change their Religion; nevertheless the Prisoners had not all this freedom of choice that they pretended to grant them. For the Monks and the Officers of the Prisons who were present at this publication endeavoured to hinder the effects thereof. Sometimes they represented to them that the rigour of the Season, and the cruelty of the Soldiers that conducted them, would cause part of them to perish on the Road. Sometimes they flatter'd them with the hopes of returning to their Houses if they would abjure their Religion. But when these Considerations could not move them, they beat them outragiously, as it hapned in the Prisons of Ast, where the Governor gave them athousand blow; with his Cane in the presence of the Auditor Leonardy. They shut them up in deep ditches, and in very stinking places, as were the Prisons of Queirasque and others. In fine, they raised so many obstacles, that there were several that yielded to the temptation, and consent ed to renounce their Religion. But instead of sending them back to their Houses, they carried them at length, as it were into captivity, into the Province of Verceil, being the most barren, and the least fertile part of all the Duke of Savoy's Dominions. I cannot omit some circumstances that were very remarkable; one whereof is. that several young Children, as well those that had been taken out of the Prisons, as those that were dispersed through Piedmont, hearing that the prisoners were set at liberty, defired to go along with their Parents and Kindred, but they would not suffer them to do it: the other is, that the permission to depart was not published in the Prisons of Lucerne, but only stuck upon the Walls, that the Prifoners might have no benefit thereof: And lastly, they would not give liberty to the Priloners that were in the deep ditches of Aft, nor to the families that were in the Citadel of Turin.

Soon after this publication, they caused the Waldenses to depart in several Troops or Brigades, that were conducted to Geneva by the Officers, and Soldiers of the Duke of Savoy. They had promised by the Treaty made with the Count de Govon to Cloath all the Prisoners; whereupon they gave them certain old tattered Coats, and some pairs of Stockings; but as they executed the Treaty in this particular, they broke it in others much more considerable. For besides the Cruelties that they exercised against several Brigades; they took away a great number of young Children upon the Road. There hapned amongst others, two things by which one may judge of the

rest. One respects the Prisoners that were at Mondovi; they caused to be published at Christmas, about five of the Clock in the evening, the Order that gave them permission to depart; they told them that if they did not go away immediately upon the spot, they should have no benefit of the Order, because they intended to revoke it the next day. These miserable creatures were all disabled and worn out with Diseases and languishing Pains. Nevertheless they chose rather to go free, and to expose themselves to a manifest danger, than to groan any longer under this cruel Captivity. They departed then in a night the most cold, and the most inconvenient that can be possibly imagined, and travelled without stopping, four or five miles over the Snow and the Ice, but with so great misfortune, that there were more than an hundred and fifty that fainted under this fatigue, and dyed by the way, without any possibility of succour from their Brethren. The other is in reference to the Prisoners that were at Fossan. There was a Brigade of these Prisoners that having lain at Novalaise, at the foot of Mount Senis, perceived the next morning as they were going, a great storm to arise on that Mountain. Some of them caused the Officer that conducted them to take notice of that storm. They entreated him to stay till it was over, and not to expose them to an apparent destruction, but to take pity of so many persons, the greatest part of whom were feeble, and without strength; they told him also that if he would be so charitable to them, they would ask him for no Bread, choosing rather to pass without eating, than to venture to cast themselves on this danger: but this Officer was fo rigorous and unmerciful, as to cause them to march on, and to Sacrifice part of them to his barbarous cruelty. For there were about twenty fix that dyed under Mount Senis, being destroyed by the tempest. They were old Men, fick Persons, Women, and little Children, that had not strength to resist the rigour of the bad weather, whom their kindred were compelled to leave behind them for a prey to the wild Beasts, because this Officer would not fuffer them to take any care of them: the following Brigades, and several Merchants, who soon after passed by this Mountain, saw the bodies of these miserable wretches extended on the Snow, and the Women having their Children in their Arms. However, this testimony must be given to the truth, that several Officers, that conducted the Waldenses, took a particular care of them.

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The Reformed Cantons being informed of the taking away of the Children, and the other ill treatment received by the Walden. fes on the way, thought that they were still obliged in Charity to sollicit in their behalf. Therefore to that end they sent Deputies to the Court of Turin, as well in favour of the march of the Brigades that were not yet arrived at Geneva, as to demand the restitution of the Children that were taken away on the Road. and of the young Boys and Girls that were dispersed through Piedmont, when the Valleys were subdued. And since they had received at the same time a Letter from the Count de Govon, wherein he acquainted them that his Master had deferred for some time the deliverance of the Ministers, and that he would not release fome Prisoners that had been taken in Arms, and that had been condenined to work all their life-time in his Royal Highness's Fortifications: the Reformed Cantons charged their Deputies again to demand the liberty of the Ministers, and of all the other Prisoners conformably to the Treaty made with the Count de Govon. But before we speak of the success of this Negociation, let us see in what condition the Waldenses were, when they arrived at Geneva.

They arrived at feveral times, and in feveral Troops or Brigades, that composed in all but two thousand five hundred persons; but they were in solad and deplorable a condition, that it is not postfible to express it. There were several poor people that expired between the two Gates of the City, and that found the end of their lives in the beginning of their liberty; others were so confumed with diseases and pain, that they thought every moment they would dye in the Arms of those that had the Charity to entertain them. Others were so frozen with cold that they had not strength enough to speak; some staggered under the weight of an extreme faintness and weariness, others lost the use of some of their Members, and were not able to lift up their Hands to receive the affiftance that was offered them. The greatest part of them were naked and without shooes: in fine, they all carried about them such marks of excessive sufferings, and extreme misery, that the most obdurate Heart would have been pierced to the quick with a fenfible grief at the very fight of them. Whereas the Brigades remained some time at Geneva, to take a little rest and refreshment

refreshment before they set forward for Switzerland; those that arrived first went to meet those that came after, to inform themselves concerning their kinsfolks and acquaintance of whom they had heard no News fince the reddition of the Valleys. A Father enquired after his Child, and a Child after his Father, a Husband fought for his Wife, and a Wife for her Husband, and every one endeavoured to hear some News of their Friends and Neighbours; but as this was to very little purpole, fince the most part were dead in Prison, it made a spectacle so sad and dismal, that all that stood by, were dissolved in Tears, whilst these poor miserable creatures, being oppressed, and overwhelmed with the excess of their grief, were not able any longer to lament themselves, or fo much as to complain. But as it is very difficult to reprefent objects so sad and so affecting, so it would be as hard a task to express the charity wherewith the people of Geneva were animated on this occasion. The Inhabitants pressed on so fast to go before these poor wretches to lead them into their Houses, that the Magistrates were obliged to forbid them to go out of the City, to avoid the confusion and disorders that usually attend so great a concourse of people. Every one strove who should entertain the most fick, or those that were most afflicted, to the end they might have a greater subject whereon to exercise their Charity. They treated them not only as dear and tender Children, but also as persons that brought Peace, and a Bleffing along with them on their Families. They took an extraordinary care of the fick, several of whom dyed at Geneva, and some of them had the wounds yet on their Bodies, that the Worms had caused in Prison. All the Waldenses that wanted cloathing, were either furnished by those that lodged them, or by the Italian Bank, the Directors whereof from the beginning to the end, shewed all the marks of a tender compassion, and of an ardent Charity.

But it was not only in Geneva, that the Waldenses have found such consolation, but they have received also a great deal in Switzerland, where the Reformed Cantons have opened to them their Country, and the Bowels of their Compassions, after the most Generous, the most Christian, and the most Charitable manner in the World. And it is upon the account of the Wal-

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denses, as well as of other distressed people that have took Sanctuary there, that it may be said, that the Country of Switzerland is a safe Harbour, that the Hand of God hath made, to preserve from Shipwrack, those that are exposed to the Waves of Persecution.

Furthermore, the Deputies of the Reformed Cantons being arrived at Turin, demanded the liberty of the Ministers, and of the other Prisoners, and the restitution of the Children that were took from them on the way, and of those that were dispersed through Piedmont when the Valleys were subdued. They represented on behalf of the Ministers, that they could have no justifiable pretence to detain them, not only because they were comprehended in the Treaty made with the Count de Govons; but also because they were the principal subject of the Switzers intercession: besides that it was but just to restore the Pastors to their Flocks, to comfort and support them in their Tryals. As for the Prisoners condemned during their lives to work in the Fortifications, they represented also that they ought not to be distinguished from the rest, under colour that they were more culpable: For

- 1. The Treaty mentions no exception to their prejudice. And it imports, that all the Prisoners in general shall be released.
- 2. The Count de Goven himself hath declared in a Letter, that he wrote on this Subject in behalf of the Duke his Master, that they did not intend to detain any of the Prisoners.

3. Since it hath pleased his Royal Highness to grant safe Conducts to those that were actually in Arms, with much more reason ought he to give leave to these Prisoners (of whom it is disputed) to retreat, who have always been considered as far less criminal. And as for the young Children, they shewed, that they ought to be released, both those that had been took away upon the Road, and those that had been dispersed through *Piedmont*, because both the one sort and the other was kept back, contrary to the purport and intent of the Treaty: but neither the Reasons nor the Sollicitations of the Deputies produced any effect; they yielded to nothing

but the restitution of some of the Children that were taken on the way. For all the rest remain as yet in the Estates of *Piedmont*. It is true the Court of *Turin* hath promised to restore the Ministers in some time. But at present they are distributed with their Families, consisting of forty seven persons into three Prisons or Castles, where they are strictly guarded, and exposed to abundance of Inconveniences and miseries, without seeing yet any appearance of Redemption.

Thus I have given you in short, a Relation of the most material Passages on the account of the diffipation of the Churches and Inhabitants of the Valleys of Piedmont. There wants nothing more to demonstrate, that there never was any Persecution more unjust, nor more violent. Much less is there any thing wanting to make it appear, that there never were any Objects more worthy of the compassion of all good Christians, than the Waldenses that have escaped this Persecution. They are perswaded, that all Reformed Europe will look with an eye of pity on the Calamities and Pains with which they are overwhelmed, and that they will be partakers of their forrow. These are the sad Remains of that dismal Shipwrack, wherewith the true Successors of the Apostles. have been so lately swallowed up. This is that scattered Remnant of those Mother Churches, the most ancient of all, that from the Top of the Alpes had illuminated a great part of the Universe. Finally, this is that poor Remainder reduced to so small a number, and to so deplorable a condition, on whose diminution and misery we cannot reflect without being pierced to the Heart with an extraordinary and surprising grief. They implore the Protectionof Kings, Princes and Protestant Estates: and in fine, of all the Faithful. They conjure them by the Bowels of Compassion of the common Saviour of the World, and by all that is most Sacred in the Communion of Saints, to hearken to the sad voice of their bitter Lamentations and Groans. They befeech them to continue the effects of this incomparable Charity of which they have given so many famous Examples, and to open the Treasure of their Benevolence towards this Residue, that the good God hath just now faved by a Miracle of his Providence. They will by this means endeavour to conduce somewhat to the Glory of the Sovereign Monarch of the Universe. And they will receive this Consolation. that

that they have made use of so happy an opportunity of preserving in the persons of the Waldenses, the first Pruits of the Primitive Church. In the mean time, these poor distressed people will never cease to open their Hearts in the presence of the Father of Light, for their charitable Benefactors, that it may please him to multiply more and more these their good Fruits, and crown their Charity with the most precious Blessings, both in this life, and that which is to come.

A LETTER

A LETTER from his Royal Highness of Savoy, to the Inhabitants of the Valleys.

To our most Dear and Faithful Subjects, the Communities of the Valleys of Lucerne, Peirouse and S. Martin, and of the Quarters of Perrustin, S. Bartholomew and Rocheplatte

The Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, King of Cyprus, &c.

Most Dear and Faithful,

Since we have been well pleased with the zeal and readiness, with which you have provided Men who have served us to our entire satisfaction in the Affairs we had against the Genoeses; we have thought fit by these Presents to testifie unto you our good liking thereof, and to assure you, that we will keep it in particular remembrance, to make you sensible on all occasions, of the Effects of our Royal Protection, whereof the Count and Intendant Boccasia shall give you a more full Information, whom we have commanded to express to you our sentiments more at large, and also to take a List of the Officers and Soldiers, as well of those that are dead, as of those that remain Prisoners, to make report thereof unto us; to the end that we may have due regard thereto. In the mean time these Presents shall serve you for an assured testimony of our satisfaction and good will; and we pray God to preserve you from Evil.

From Turin the fifth of November, 1672.

Signed C. Emanuel Buonfiglio.

A Copy of a Letter wrote to Count Boccaria, by His Royal, Highness.

Trusty and Well-Beloved;

The Men whom the Communities of the Valleys of Lucerne, &c. have provided, have served us so faithfully, that being desirous to testifie unto them our satisfaction therein, we have sent you a Letter berein inclosed, that we have wrote to them; to the end that you may deliver it to them, and also express more fully the good will that we bear to them on this account, and that you may assure them, that when soever any thing shall happen, that may tend to their advantage, we will

will particularly remomber their affection, and on this occasion you shall take a List of the Officers and Soldiers, as well of those that are dead, as of those that are Prisoners, and make report thereof unto us, to the end that we may be able to have convenient regard thereto, and referring to you what may be said further intoken of the satisfaction we have received, no less by their zeal and readiness, than by the good Service that their Officers and Soldiers have rendred us, we pray our Lord to preserve you.

At Turin the fifth of November, 1672.

Signed C. Emanuel.

To Monsieur the Count Am. Boccaria, Counsellor of State, and Resendary Intendant General of the Valleys.

The Order of Don Gabriel of Savoy, in favour of the Inhabitants of the Valleys.

D. Gabriel of Savoy, Marquels of Rive, Commander General of the Armies of his Royal Highnels, and General of the Cavalry.

The underwritten Officers of the Valleys of Lucerne have shewn so great a zeal for his Royal Highnesses Service, as opportunity hath offered it self, particulary in the Commotions of this Province, that we have thought it convenient to give them some attestation thereof, to the end, that on other occasions wherein his Royal Highnesses Service shall be required, they may be punctual to continue, and to give further proofs of their zeal and courage; wherefore by virtue of the Authority we have from his Royal Highness, we give permission to the aforesaid Officers here undernamed, to carry Arms, upon condition nevertheless, that they do not abuse it; and we command all those that depend on our Orders, as General, and desire others not to give them, nor to permit any molestation to be given them, upon the account of carrying the said Arms directly, nor indirectly, under any pretence whatsoever, this being his Royal Highnesses Will and Pleasure, and his Service requiring the same.

Given at Mondovi the twenty ninth of September, 1681.







